

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0642

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 02951

LIMDIS NOFORN

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL

SHAPE FOR INTAF

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, GW, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, LINKAGE AND PHASE II
REDUCTIONS AND NUCLEAR ISSUES

REF: (A) VIENNA 1509, (B) VIENNA 1206, (C) BONN 2271,
(D) BONN 2050

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING SEPARATE FEB 21 TOURS D'HORIZON
WITH EMBOFF DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH AND FONOFF
MBFR DEPT CHIEF RUTH INDICATED READINESS IN PRINCIPLE
TO ACCEPT GENERALIZED LINKAGE FORMULATION FOR LATER
USE IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIANS, ON STRICT CONDITION
THAT "ALL" DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AGREE TO ACCEPT PHASE II
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REDUCTIONS AND THAT NO SUBCEILINGS OR SINGLING OUT OF

BUNDESWEHR OR OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONAL FORCES ARE
ENTAILED. ROTH TOOK MORE FLEXIBLE STANCE ON
"DISBANDMENT" OF WESTERN FORCES THAN DOES FRG DEFENSE
MINISTRY; HE OBSERVED THAT FMOD BECOMING SOMEWHAT LESS
RIGID ON MBFR SINCE DEPARTURE OF WIECK. THE GERMAN
OFFICIALS ALSO COMMENTED ON SOVIET
NEGOTIATING TACTICS AND CURRENT EASTERN PRESS PROPAGANDA,
SAID NEGOTIATIONS PROCEEDING AT ACCEPTABLE PACE AND RE-
ITERATED POTENTIAL BARGAINING ADVANTAGES IN LIMITED
FLA .DECLARATION. FINALLY, GERMANS AGAIN
INQUIRED CONCERNING U.S. TIMETABLE FOR TRILATERAL CONSUL-
TATIONS ON MBFR NUCLEAR ASPECTS. END SUMMARY

1. BOTH ROTH AND RUTH SAID THEY CONSIDERED THE PACE
OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS TO BE ACCEPTABLE. THEY
NOTED THE RECENT RATHER INTENSIVE CRITICAL COMMENTARIES
IN THE SOVIET PRESS AND POLEMICAL ATTACKS IN NEUES
DEUTSCHLAND (ND), BOTH OF WHICH WERE AIMED AT
INCLUSION OF THE BUNDESWEHR. LIKE THE PRAVDA ARTICLE
ON SALT (MOSCOW 2L98), THE RUSSIAN PRESS ALSO WAS
SCORING THE ALLIED MBFR DELS FOR SEEKING ONE SIDED
ADVANTAGES FROM THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS. IN
REBUFFING THE ALLIED ARGUEMENTS FOR A REDUCTION OF
EAST-WEST DISPARITIES, THE FEBRUARY 20 ND HAD FRANKLY
ASSERTED THAT GENUINE EUROPEAN SECURITY WAS ONLY
POSSIBLE GIVEN THE MAINTENANCE OF THE MILITARY
SUPERIORITY OF WP STATES. ROTH ALSO REFERRED
TO CZECH MBFR REP KLEIN'S REPORTED STATEMENT RAISING
SPECTOR OF US/SOVIET BILATERALISM THAT MULTILATERAL
NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT COME TO AN END SHOULD THE WEST
EUROPEANS NOT OBLIGE THEMSELVES TO REDUCE THEIR FORCES
IN MBFR. ROTH SAID HE REGARDED ALL OF THIS EASTERN
BACKGROUND MUSIC TO BE NORMAL SOVIET NEGOTIATING
METHODS WHICH HAD PRODUCED NO RESONANCE IN WESTERN
PUBLIC OPINION. THE GERMAN PRESS, LIKE A RECENT
NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL, WAS COUNSELLING PATIENCE
IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE FRG HAD NO FEAR OF A
PUBLIC SENSE OF STALEMATE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

2. RUTH SAID THE SOVIET MBFR NEGOTIATING STRATEGY
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WAS BECOMING CLEARER. THE RUSSIANS APPARENTLY ARE
TRYING TO WIN WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE WP FRAMEWORK
PROPOSAL VIA ALLIED COMMITMENTS ON A SLICE BY SLICE
BASIS, TO DISCUSS SPECIFIC SOVIET DESIDERATA IN
MBFR-II. BOTH GERMANS EXPRESSED KEEN AWARENESS
THAT THE BASIS FOR ANY NEGOTIATION IS RECIPROCITY
AND THAT CERTAIN RUSSIAN REQUIREMENTS WOULD HAVE TO
BE MET. BUT ROTH EMPHASIZED THE INCREASINGLY

PROMINENT FRG LINE THAT ALL CARE MUST BE TAKEN IN MBFR-I TO AVOID COMMITMENTS PREJUDICIAL TO MBFR-II NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH WILL TOUCH EVEN MORE DIRECTLY ON FRG AND OTHER WEST EUROPEAN INTERESTS.

3. IN ANALYZING THE EASTERN APPROACH TO ALLIED

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NATIONAL FORCES, RUTH SAID WP REPS WERE TRYING TO INTERPRET THE MAY MIT PROTOCOL AS A COMMITMENT OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO REDUCTIONS. IN FACT, DIRECT PARTICIPANTS HAD MERELY UNDERTAKEN TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT REDUCTIONS. THE GERMANS HOPED THAT THE APPROACH IN THE ALLIED TACTICS PAPER, AND THE USE OF THE "FIXED PERIOD OF TIME" FORMULATION WOULD BRING THE SOVIETS TO ACCEPT INITIAL FOCUS ON US/SOVIET FORCES. (FYI--THIS CONVERSATION OCCURRED BEFORE RECEIPT OF REPORT IN VIENNA L564 ON FEB. 20

INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS WITH SOVIET AND OTHER EASTERN REPS.)

4. ROTH SAID HE WAS AWARE OF INFORMAL ALLIED EXCHANGES IN VIENNA CONCERNING POSSIBLE LATER USE OF A GENERALIZED LINKAGE FORMULATION IN BRINGING SOVIETS TO DEFINITIVE COMMITMENT TO THE COMMON CEILING AS THE OUTCOME OF MBFR-II. ROTH INDICATED READINESS
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IN PRINCIPLE TO ACCEPT A LINKAGE PROVISION ALONG THE LINES OF US MBFR DEL FORMULATION IN REF A--PARA 5-- I.E., "ALL" THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD REDUCE IN PHASE II. BUT THE WEST COULD NOT AGREE IN MBFR-I TO SPECIFICATION OF COMPOSITION OF MBFR-II CUTS, AND THE GERMANS WOULD INSIST THAT SUCH A PROVISION COULD ONLY BE ACCEPTABLE IF THERE WERE NO SUBCEILINGS OR SINGLING OUT OF THE BUNDESWEHR OR OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONAL FORCES. (IN THIS CONNECTION, THE GERMANS CONSIDER THE TURKISH/FLANK PROPOSALS CONCERNING DISBANDMENT OF SOVIET FORCES TO BE IMPRUDENT BECAUSE IT IS LIKELY TO ATTRACT RECIPROCAL SOVIET PROPOSALS CONCERNING US AND PERHAPS OTHER WESTERN FORCES. ROTH AND RUTH PLAN TO VISIT VIENNA SOON TO EMPHASIZE THE FIRMNESS OF FRG OPPOSITION TO BUNDESWEHR SUBCEILING . ON A RELATED MATTER, RUTH NOTED THAT THE CAUTIOUS FRG APPROVAL OF AHG FRAMEWORK FORMULATION ON STABILIZING MEASURES ("LEVELS OF US AND SOVIET FORCES"--VIENNA 1347) ALSO SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD IN CONTEXT OF BONN'S AVERSION TO EXPLICIT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF SUBCEILINGS EVEN FOR US AND SOVIET FORCES.)

5. BESIDES SUBCEILING ASPECT, ROTH ASSERTED THAT GERMAN ACCEPTANCE OF THE ABOVE GENERALIZED LINKAGE PROVISION ALSO WOULD REQUIRE AGREEMENT OF ALL RPT ALL OTHER WEST EUROPEAN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, PARTICULARLY INCLUDING BRITAIN, TO TAKE PHASE II CUTS. ROTH HAD NO PARTICULAR COMMENT IN THIS CONTEXT CONCERNING US PHASE II CUTS, LIMITING HIMSELF TO RECALLING THE ALLIED POSITION THAT MBFR II SHOULD FOCUS ON THE WESTERN SIDE ON FORCES OF NON-US DIRECT PARTICIPANTS (SEE REF C AND D). HE DID ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT SEEK TO USE THE ABSENCE OF US FORCES FROM MBFR-II AS A PRETEXT TO SHIFT THE BURDEN OF PHASE II EASTERN CUTS TO THE EAGER POLES, CZECHS AND PERHAPS EAST GERMANS. BUT ROTH CAUTIONED THAT SOVIET VIEW ON COMPOSITION OF EASTERN MBFR-II CUTS REMAINS HAZY.

6. SEPTTEL FOLLOWS WITH PART II OF THIS MESSAGE,

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WHICH FOCUSES ON DIFFERING FONOFF/DEFMIN VIEWS ON
BUNDESWEHR REORGANIZATION AND ROLE IN MBFR-II AND
NUCLEAR, AIR AND FLA ASPECTS.
HILLENBRAND

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